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THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.*

THE LORD OF HOSTS HATH SWORN, SAYING, SURELY AS I HAVE THOUGHT, SO SHALL IT COME TO PASS; AND AS I HAVE PURPOSED, SO SHALL IT STAND."—*Isaiah xiv-24*.

Perhaps it would satisfy the evolutionist or agnostic if the passage were read as follows :— "Surely as it has been conceived so shall it come to pass; and as it has been purposed, so shall it stand." For there is not a thinking being, whatever his religious belief, who does not at once recognize the fact that everything in the physical and moral world proceeds according to some plan or order—that some subtle law, call it by whatever name you please, underlies and regulates the movements of the stars in their courses and the sparrows in their flight. It is also the belief of all healthy minds that that law or influence is always tending towards the highest and best results—that its prerogative and design are to make darkness light, crooked things straight and rough places smooth; or, in the misty phraseology of modern criticism, it is the "Eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousness,"—that its fiats are irrevocable and their outcome inevitable. With this understanding, men are now constructing the science of history, the science of language, the science of religion, the science of society, formulating dogmas to set aside dogma, and consoling themselves that they are moving to a higher level and solving the problems of the ages.

Among the conclusions to which study and research are conducting philosophers, none is clearer than this—that each of the races of mankind has a specific character and a specific work. The science of sociology is the science of race.

* The Annual Discourse delivered at the Sixty-Sixth Anniversary of THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, Washington, D. C., January 14th, 1883, by the Rev. Edward Wilmot Blyden, D. D., LL. D., President of Liberia College.

In the midst of these discussions, Africa is forcing its claims for consideration upon the attention of the world, and science and philanthropy are bringing all their resources to bear upon its exploration and amelioration. There is hardly an important city in Europe where there is not an organization formed for the purpose of dealing with some of the questions connected with this great continent.

There is "The International African Association," founded at Brussels, in 1876, of which the King of the Belgians is the patron. "The Italian National Association for the exploration and civilization of Africa." The "Association Espanola para la Exploracion del Africa." The King of Spain has taken great practical interest in this Society. "The German Society for the Exploration of Africa," founded in 1872 by the German Geographical Associations. It receives assistance from the government. The "Afrikanische Gesellschaft," in Vienna, founded in 1876, also under royal patronage. "The Hungarian African Association," founded in 1877. "The National Swiss Committee for the Exploration of Central Africa." The French Government and the French Chamber of Commerce have made large grants of money to aid in African exploration. Then there is an African Association at Rotterdam, besides the great Royal Geographical Society of England, which has a special fund for African researches, and has recently sent Thomson to explore the snow covered mountains of eastern Africa.

This anxiety to penetrate the mysteries of Africa, this readiness to turn from the subtleties of philosophy and the fascinations of science to deal with the great physical fact of an unexplored continent, is not a new experience in the world. The ancients were equally concerned. With a zealous curiosity overcoming the promptings of the finer sentiments and the desire for military glory, Cæsar proposed to abandon his ambitious exploits for the privilege of gazing upon the source of the Nile.

The modern desire for more accurate knowledge of Africa is not a mere sentiment; it is the philanthropic impulse to lift up the millions of that continent to their proper position among the intellectual and moral forces of the world; but it is also the commercial desire to open that vast country to the enterprises of trade. Europe is overflowing with the material productions of its own genius. Important foreign markets, which formerly consumed these productions, are now closing against them. Africa seems to furnish the only large outlet for them, and the desire is to make the markets of Soudan easily accessible to London, Manchester and Liverpool. The depressed factories of Lancashire are waiting to be inspired with new

life and energy by the development of a new and inexhaustible trade with the millions of Central Africa; so that Africa, as frequently in the past, will have again to come to the rescue and contribute to the needs of Europe. Emergencies drove homeless wanderers to the shores of Libya:—

“Defessi Æneadae, quae proxima litora, cursu
Contendunt petere, et Libyae vertuntur ad oras.”*

But the plans proposed by Europeans for opening up Africa, as far as they can be carried out by themselves, are felt to be inadequate. Many feel that commerce, science, and philanthropy may establish stations and trace out thoroughfares, but they also feel that these agencies are helpless to cope fully with the thousand questions which arise in dealing with the people.

Among the agencies proposed for carrying on the work of civilization in Africa, none has proved so effective as the American Colonization enterprise. People who talk of the civilizing and elevating influence of mere trade on that continent, do so because they are unacquainted with the facts. Nor can missionaries alone do this work. We do not object to trade, and we would give every possible encouragement to the noble efforts of missionaries. We would open the country everywhere to commercial intercourse. We would give everywhere hospitable access to traders. Place your trading factories at every prominent point along the coast, and even let them be planted on the banks of the rivers. Let them draw the rich products from remote districts. We say, also, send the missionary to every tribe and every village. Multiply throughout the country the evangelizing agencies. Line the banks of the rivers with the preachers of righteousness, penetrate the jungles with those holy pioneers, crown the mountain tops with your churches, and fill the valleys with your schools. No single agency is sufficient to cope with the multifarious needs of the mighty work. But the indispensable agency is the colony. Groups of Christian and civilized settlers must, in every instance, bring up the rear, if the results of your work are to be widespread, beneficial and enduring.

This was the leading idea that gave birth to the Society whose anniversary we have met to celebrate. To-day we have the Sixty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society. This fact by itself would excite no feeling, and perhaps no remark. But when we consider that although this is but the sixty-sixth year of its

* Virgil's *Æneid*.

existence, it has been successful in founding a colony which has now been for thirty-five years an independent nation, acknowledged by all the Powers of the earth, we cannot but congratulate the organization upon an achievement which, considering the circumstances, is unparalleled in the history of civilization; and which must be taken as one of the most beautiful illustrations of the spirit and tendency of Christianity.

When the Society began its work, its programme was modest, and in the early declarations of its policy it was found expedient to emphasize the simplicity of its pretensions and the singleness of its purpose. In describing its objects, one of the most eloquent of its early supporters — Dr. Leonard Bacon — said, "The Colonization Society is not a missionary society, nor a society for the suppression of the slave trade, nor a society for the improvement of the blacks, nor a society for the abolition of slavery; it is simply a society for the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa."

But in pursuance of its legitimate object, its labors have been fruitful in all the ways indicated in Dr. Bacon's statement. It has not only established a colony, but it has performed most effective missionary work; it has suppressed the slave trade along six hundred miles of coast; it has improved the condition of the blacks as no other means has; and it is abolishing domestic slavery among the Aborigines of that continent.

Like all great movements which are the outcome of human needs and have in view the amelioration of the condition of large masses of people, it attracted to its support at the opening of its career, men of conflicting views and influenced by divers motives. Some of its adherents gave one reason for their allegiance, others gave another; and sometimes to the superficial observer or to the captious opponent, these different reasons furnished grounds for animadversions against the Society. Though it owed its origin to the judicious heads and philanthropic hearts of some of the best men that ever occupied positions of prominence and trust in this nation, yet there were those who ridiculed the scheme as wild and impracticable. Some opposed it because they loved the Negro; others discountenanced it because they hated the Negro. Some considered that the Society in wishing to give him an opportunity for self-government, placed too high an estimate upon his ability; others thought that the idea of sending him away to a barbarous shore was a disparaging comment upon his capacity, and robbing him of his right to remain and thrive in the land of his birth. To not a few who neither loved nor hated the Negro—but

were simply indifferent to him—the idea of transporting a few emancipated slaves to Africa with the hope of bringing about a general exodus of the millions in this country, or of building up a nation in that far-off land of such materials, seemed absurd and ridiculous.

The Society was hardly fifteen years in operation when it met with organized opposition in the American Anti-Slavery Society, the founders of which looked upon the work of Colonization as an attempt to evade the duty and responsibility of emancipation. At this time Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, a leader of the abolition movement, was the most eloquent and persistent of the assailants of the Society. He carried the war against it into England, and pursued with unrelenting scorn and invective Mr. Elliott Cresson, who was then representing the cause before the British public. In the interesting life of the great anti-slavery reformer, by Oliver Johnson, it is said that when Mr. Garrison returned to this country from England in 1833, he brought with him a "Protest" against the Colonization scheme, signed by Wilberforce, Macaulay, Buxton, O'Connell and others of scarcely less weight.*

But Mr. Garrison ought to have known, and probably did know, that it was not the Colonization scheme as conceived by its founders that these philanthropists opposed, for they were men of a spirit kindred to that which animated Samuel J. Mills, and the Finleys and Caldwells, whose labors brought the Society into being. What they did oppose was the scheme as they saw it under the representations of Mr. Garrison, who, himself, benevolent at heart, had been influenced by personal reasons and by the injudicious utterances of certain advocates of Colonization. They opposed it as they saw it through the glasses of such good old Negroes as Father Snowden of Boston, who, in those days, offered a prayer for the Colonization Society so striking in its eloquence as to have deserved a place, in the judgment of Mr. Oliver Johnson, in a serious narrative of the doings of the great anti-slavery leader—"O God," said the simple and earnest old man, "we pray that that seven-headed, ten-horned monster, the Colonization Society, may be smitten through and through with the fiery darts of truth, and tormented as the whale between the sword-fish and the threshers."†

I say that the friends of Africa in England did not oppose African Colonization in itself, for just about the time of Mr. Garrison's visit

* *William Lloyd Garrison and his Times*, by Oliver Johnson, p. 130.

† *William Lloyd Garrison and his Times*, p. 72. Mr. Oliver Johnson, throughout his work, shows his own conception of the status and functions of the Negro, by never using a capital letter in writing the word that describes the race.

to England, or very soon after, they adopted, under the lead of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a scheme for the regeneration of Africa by means of her civilized sons, gathered from the countries of their exile; and at great expense sent out an expedition to the Niger, for the purpose of securing on that river a hundred square miles of territory on which to settle the returning exiles. Capt. William Allen, who commanded the first Niger expedition, on his return in 1834, when describing the advantages of a civilized colony, used these words:

"The very existence of such a community, exalted as it would be in its own estimation, and in the enjoyment of the benefits of civilization, would excite among its neighbors a desire to participate in those blessings, and would be at once a normal or model society, gradually spreading to the most remote regions, and, calling forth the resources of a country rich in so many things essential to commerce, might change the destinies of the whole of Western Central Africa."*

In a letter addressed by Stephen Lushington and Thomas Fowell Buxton to Lord John Russell, August 7, 1840, all the arguments used by the American Colonization Society for colonizing civilized blacks in Africa, are reproduced.

Thomas Clarkson, writing to a friend under date Sept. 12, 1842, says: "I am glad to find that in the *Friend of Africa* you lay such stress upon native agency, or the agency of the black people themselves to forward their own cause. Good sense would have dictated this; but God seems to point it out as one of His plans. He has raised up a people by the result of emancipation, qualified both in intellect and habituation to a hot climate, to do for us the grand work in Africa. You know well that we can find among the emancipated slaves people with religious views and with intellectual capacity equal to the whites, and from these, principally, are we to pick out laborers for the African vineyard. * * * You cannot send two or three only to a colony. In the smallest colony there must be more; there must be enough to form a society, both for the appearance of safety and for that converse for which man was fitted by the organs of speech to pass the time usefully to himself and others."†

The experience of years and the progress of Liberia have only served to illustrate the soundness of these views. European workers for Africa feel more and more the importance of such agencies as the Colonization Society has been instrumental in establishing for civilizing Africa. A writer in the *London Times* for May 31st, 1882, says:

* *Narrative of the Expedition to the Niger.* Vol. II. p. 434.

† *African Repository*, Vol. XVI. p. 397.

"As I have recently returned from Zanzibar and can speak from some personal experience, may I be allowed to draw the attention of your readers to an attempt to bring about these results, viz.:—the abolition of the slave trade and civilization of the people—with remarkable success? It is the formation of self-sustaining communities of released slaves in the countries whence they were originally brought by the slave-dealers, in order that by their example and influence they may teach to the surrounding people the advantages of civilization. The sight of a body of men of the same race as themselves, living in their midst, but raised to a higher level by the influence of Christianity and civilization, has naturally produced in them a desire of raising themselves also."

In an able article on "The Evangelization of Africa," in the *Dublin Review*, January, 1879, written by a Roman Catholic Prelate, the writer asks—"Why should not the example given by the American Colonization Society in founding Liberia, be followed by us in other parts of Africa?"

In a lecture, delivered in 1872, in New York, by the same distinguished author, he says:

"We have come to evangelize the colored people in America. But our mission does not terminate with them. We are travelling through America to that great unexplored, unconverted continent of Africa. We have come to gather an army on our way, to conquer Africa for the Cross. God has His designs upon that vast land. * * * * The branch torn away from the parent stem in Africa, by our ancestors, was brought to America—brought away by divine permission, in order that it might be engrafted upon the tree of the Cross. It will return in part to its own soil, not by violence or deportation, but willingly, and borne on the wings of faith and charity,"

It is sometimes supposed and asserted that the efforts of the Colonization Society stir up a feeling of unrest among the colored population, and make them dissatisfied with their condition in this country. But this charge is brought only by those who have no idea of the power of race instincts. The descendants of Africa in this country have never needed the stimulus of any organization of white men to direct their attention to the land of their fathers. Just as the idea of a departure from the house of bondage in Egypt was in the minds of the Hebrews long before Moses was born, even when Joseph gave commandment concerning his bones; so long before the formation of the Colonization Society there were aspirations in the breasts of thinking Negroes for a return to the land

of their fathers. The first practical Colonizationist was not a white man but a Negro, Paul Cuffee. This man took thirty Negro emigrants from New Bedford in his own vessel to Africa in 1815. The law of God for each race is written on the tablets of their hearts, and no theories will ever obliterate the deep impression or neutralize its influence upon their action; and in the process of their growth they will find or force a way for themselves. Those who are working with or for the race, therefore, should seriously consider in any great movement in their behalf, the steps which the proper representatives deem it wise to take. "March without the people," said a French deputy, "and you walk into night; their instincts are a finger pointing of providence, always turning toward real benefit."

The Colonization Society was only the instrument of opening a field for the energies of those of the Africans who desired to go and avail themselves of the opportunities there offered. Mr Boswell, in his life of Samuel Johnson, tells us that when the sale of Thrales' Brewery was going forward, Johnson was asked what he really considered to be the value of the property which was to be disposed of. He replied, "We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice." So the founders of this Society looked to the "potentiality" of the few seeds they were planting on the coast of Africa. In their reply to opponents they said: "We are not here simply to send a few Negroes to Africa and to occupy with them a few swampy regions on the margin of a distant country, but we are endeavoring to stimulate for a race and a continent their potentiality of unlimited development."

They assisted a few courageous men to go and plant a colony on those distant and barbarous shores, in days when nearly every body doubted the wisdom and expediency of such a step. Who then could have divined the results? Considering the circumstances of those pioneer settlers and the darkness of the outlook when they started, no man could have believed until he learned it as a matter of history that those few men could have established an independent nation on that coast. The story of their trials and struggles and conquests would furnish the material for an exciting novel—many portions of it would resemble chapters not from Froude or Hallam but from Thackeray or Scott. The string of episodes in the first thirty years of their history would form the basis of an interesting epic.

Now what is the work thus far accomplished and being accomplished on that coast? If, when those colonists landed on those shores, inexperienced and uneducated ex-slaves as they were, they had had to contend with simple barbarism or the absence of civilization, their task

would have been comparatively easy. But they had to deal with tribes demoralized by ages of intercourse with the most abandoned of foreigners—slave traders and pirates, who had taken up their abode at various points of the coast, and had carried on for generations, without interruption, their work of disintegration and destruction. When, therefore, the colonists found themselves in possession of a few miles of territory, they very soon perceived that they had more to do than simply to clear up the land, build and cultivate. They saw that they had to contend not with the simple prejudices of the Aborigines but with the results of the unhallowed intercourse of European adventurers. But they were brave men. Their spirits, though chastened by the burden of slavery and the sorrows of oppression were never clouded by any doubt in their destiny. They felt themselves able to build up a State, and they set themselves cheerfully to deal with the new and difficult problems which confronted them. Fierce were the struggles in which they had to engage before they succeeded in expelling the pirates from the neighborhood of their settlements. And after they had dislodged these demons in human form, the mischievous consequences of their protracted residence in the land continued and still, to a great extent, continue. In his last message to the Liberian Legislature, the President of the Republic, referring to the difficulties at Cape Mount, says: "The native wars which have been going on in the vicinity of Cape Mount have now nearly exhausted themselves. These periodical wars are, for the most part, the results of long standing feuds arising from the horrible slave-trade, that dreadful scourge which distinguished the intercourse of the European world with Africa for more than ten generations."

Having secured an undisturbed footing in the land of their fathers, the next step on the part of the colonists was to conciliate the Aborigines and to enlarge the borders of the Colony by purchase from the native lords of the soil. In this way the Colony increased in power and influence, until 1847, when it became a sovereign and independent State. As such it has been acknowledged by all the Powers of Europe and by the United States.

The special work which at this moment claims the attention of the Republic is to push the settlements beyond the sea-board to the elevated and salubrious regions of the interior, and to incorporate the Aborigines, as fast as practicable, into the Republic. Native chiefs are summoned to the Legislature from the different counties and take part in the deliberations; but as yet only those Aborigines who conform to the laws of the Republic as to the tenure of land, are allowed to exercise the elective franchise. All the other questions which press

upon independent nations, questions of education, of finance, of commerce, of agriculture, are receiving the careful attention of the people. They feel the importance of making provisions by judicious laws and by proper executive, legislative and judicial management, for the preservation and growth of the State.

In educational matters there is daily noticeable encouraging improvement. We are developing a system of common schools, with a College at the head as a guarantee for their efficiency. The educational work is felt to be of the greatest possible importance; education not only in its literary and religious forms, but also in its industrial, mechanical and commercial aspects.

The effort now is to enlarge the operations and increase the influence of the College. The faculty has just been added to by the election of two new Professors in this country, young men of learning and culture, who will sail for their field of labor in a few weeks.

It will be gratifying to the people of Liberia as well as to their friends on this side to observe how heartily the press of this country, both secular and religious, has endorsed and commended this new move for the advancement of education in that land. The College now contains fifty students in the two departments, and it is hoped that the number will soon increase to hundreds, if we can only get the needed help. We have application for admission to its advantages from numerous youths in various institutions of learning in this country, who wish, on the completion of their course, to labor in Africa. Influential chiefs on the coast and in the interior are also anxious to send their sons; and we shall, before very long, have young men from the powerful tribes in our vicinity—Mandingoes, Foulahs, Veys, Bassas, Kroos, Greboes.

A female department has also lately been established in connection with this institution, and a Christian lady of education and culture, in this country, longing to labor in the land of her fathers, has been appointed as first Principal. She will sail in a few months.

In financial matters the Republic is hopeful. The public debt is not so large that it cannot, by the reforms now contemplated, be easily managed and placed under such control as to give no inconvenience to the State. There are evidences of an abundance of gold in the territory of the Republic. The precious metal is brought to the coast from various points in the interior. But the government is not anxious to encourage the opening of gold mines. We prefer the slow but sure, though less dazzling process of becoming a great nation by lapse of time, and by the steady growth of internal prosperity—by agriculture, by trade, by proper domestic economy.

In commercial matters there is also everything to encourage. Three lines of steamers from England and Germany, and sailing vessels from the United States visit the Liberian ports regularly for trading purposes. And the natural resources of the Republic have in various portions of it hardly yet been touched. Palm oil, cam-wood, ivory, rubber, gold-dust, hides, beeswax, gum copal, may be produced in unlimited quantities. For the enterprising merchants of this country—colored or white—there is no better field for the investment of pecuniary capital.

The agriculture of the country is rapidly on the increase. Liberia has been supplying the coffee planters of Ceylon and Brazil with a new and superior kind of coffee for their agricultural industry. The Liberian coffee is considered among the best in the world, and the people are now turning their attention largely to its cultivation. As immigrants arrive from this country, extensive farms under their persevering industry are taking the place of the dense forests. The new settlements pushing out to the rich valleys and fertile slopes of the interior are a marvel to those who a few years ago saw the country in its primitive condition; and to the Negro newcomer from this country in search of a field for his energy and enterprise, there is no picture which, for inspiration and grandeur, can ever equal the sight of these new proprietors of land and these new directors of labor engaged in their absorbing and profitable pursuits. When he sees the thriving villages, the comfortable dwellings, the increasing agriculture, all supervised and controlled by men just like himself, who had only been more fortunate in preceding him by a few years, a feeling of pride and gratification takes possession of him. Like Aeneas, when he witnessed the enterprise of the Tyrian colonists in the building of Carthage, he exclaims

“O fortunati, quorum jam moenia surgunt.”*

But, unlike the mythical author of that exclamation, he feels that he has a part in the rising fortunes of the settlements; that what he beholds is not only what he himself may accomplish, but is the promise and pledge of the future greatness of his adopted country.

The nations of the earth are now looking to Liberia as one of the hopeful spots on that continent. The President of the United States, in his last message, referred to the interest which this Government feels in that youngest sister of the great international family. To a deputation from the Colonization Society, which called upon him a year ago, President Arthur said that he “had always taken great in-

* Aeneas i. 437.

terest in the work of the Colonization Society, which was, in his judgment, eminently practical."

President Gardner, who has for the last five years presided over that little nation, expresses the views entertained by its most enlightened citizens, as follows :

"The ship of state which, in 1847, we launched in fear and trembling, is still afloat, with timbers sound and spars unharmed. The Lone Star of Liberia untarnished is pushing its way eastward, successfully achieving victories of peace even to the slopes of the Niger, gathering willing thousands under its elevating and hopeful folds. The American Colonization Society must feel greatly strengthened in its work. It has achieved what no other philanthropic agency in modern times has accomplished, and what, perhaps, no nation could have effected, viz: the giving to the Negro an independent home in the land of his fathers, where he has unlimited scope for development and expansion. Had Liberia been the colony of a powerful government, political and commercial jealousies, and the purposes of party spirit, might have prevented the surrender of the colony to the absolute control of the colonists. Hayti had to fight for her independence. It is not practicable for Great Britain to give up Jamaica, or Barbadoes, or Sierra Leone, or Lagos. But the American Colonization Society founded a nation, and continues to strengthen it. So God takes the weak things of the earth to confound the things that are mighty."

In a letter dated at the Palace of Madrid, February 11, 1882, King Alfonso XII, of Spain, writes to the President of Liberia as follows :

"Great and Good Friend,

Desiring to give to you a public testimony of my Royal appreciation and my particular esteem, I have had special pleasure in nominating you Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Isabel the Catholic. I am pleased by this action also to furnish new proof of the desire which animates me to strengthen more and more, the friendly relations which happily exist between Spain and the Republic of Liberia; and with this motive I repeat to you the assurance of the affection which I entertain towards you, and with which I am, Great and Good Friend,

Your Great and Good Friend,

ALFONSO."

Palace at Madrid, February 11, 1882.

The Republic of Liberia now stands before the world—the realization of the dreams of the founders of the American Colonization Society, and in many respects more than the realization. Its effect upon that great country is not to be estimated solely by the six hundred miles of coast which it has brought under civilized law. A sea of influence has been created, to which rivulets and large streams are attracted from the distant interior; and up those streams, for a considerable distance, a tide of regeneration continually flows. Far beyond the range of the recognized limits of Liberia, hundreds of miles away from the coast, I have witnessed the effects of American civilization; not only in the articles of American manufactures which I have been surprised to see in those remote districts, but in the intelligible use of the English language, which I have encountered in the far inland regions, all going out from Liberia. None can calculate the wide-spreading results of a single channel of wholesome influence. Travellers in Syria tell us that Damascus owes its fertility and beauty to one single stream, the river Abana. Without that little river the charm and glory of Damascus would disappear. It would be a city in a desert. So the influence of Liberia, insignificant as it may seem, is the increasing source of beauty and fertility, of civilization and progress, to West and Central Africa.

As time has gone on and the far reaching plans of the Society have been developed, its bitterest opponents among the whites have relaxed their opposition. They see more and more that the idea which gave rise to it had more than a temporary or provisional importance; that as long as there are Christian Negroes in this land who may do a civilizing work in Africa, and who desire to go thither, so long will this colonization enterprise be a necessary and beneficent agency.

Colored men of intelligence are also taking a more comprehensive view of the question. The colored people in various parts of the country are not only asserting their independence of party trammels but are taking higher ground with regard to their relations to Africa. The Colonization Society no longer stands between them and the land of their fathers as a dividing agency—no longer the gulf that separates, but for many the bridge that connects. Liberia is producing the elements, which, if they do not to the minds of the thinking colored people, vindicate the methods of some colonizationists in days gone by, amply justify the policy of the Colonization Society. The leading men of color are recognizing the distinction between Liberia as an independent nation, claiming their respect and support, and the Colonization Society, which, from their stand-point, contemplated their expatriation.

Your speaker has had the honor of being listened to on the various occasions on which, recently, he has spoken in this city, by full houses composed of the most intelligent classes of the colored population, who a few years ago would not have thought of attending any meeting which had the remotest connection with Liberia. He has also had the gratifying privilege of being the guest for several days at Uniontown of the leading colored man of the United States, better known than any other Negro in both hemispheres; and this address was written under his hospitable roof and, perhaps, on the same table on which, in years gone by, had been forged those thunderbolts which he hurled with so much power and effect against Colonization; but, *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*. The times are changed and we are changed with them.

The dawn of a new day in the history of the colored people is not only inspiring them with new views, but bringing forward new actors or leaders. It is not that those who are coming forward are superior to those who have passed away or are passing away. No; the giants of former years—the Wards and Garnets and Douglasses—can never be surpassed or even reproduced. They were the peculiar product of their times. But it is, that the present times require different instruments, and leaders are arising with different purposes and different aspirations. I saw in large letters in a prominent part of Mr. Frederick Douglass's residence the scriptural injunction, "Live peaceably with all men;" a fitting motto, I thought, for the soldier who, after the hard fought battle and the achievement of the victory, has laid down his arms. The motto in the days of Douglass's greatest activity was, "Fight the good fight." Now the days of peace have come. The statesman's office comes after the soldier's. *Cedant arma togae*. The Negro youth as a result of the training which he is now so generously receiving in the schools, will seek to construct States. He will aspire after feats of statesmanship, and Africa will be the field to which he will look for the realization of his desires. Bishop Turner, of the African M. E. Church, who enjoys exceptional opportunities for knowing the feelings of the colored people of this country, said in a newspaper article published a few days ago:

"There never was a time when the colored people were more concerned about Africa in every respect, than at present. In some portions of the country it is the topic of conversation, and if a line of steamers were started from New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah or Charleston, they would be crowded to density every trip they made to Africa. There is a general unrest and a wholesale dissatisfaction among our people in a number of sections of the country to my cer-

tain knowledge, and they sigh for conveniences to and from the continent of Africa. Something has to be done, matters cannot go on as at present, and the remedy is thought by tens of thousands to be a NEGRO NATIONALITY. This much the history of the world establishes, that races either fossilized, oppressed or degraded, must emigrate before any material change takes place in their civil, intellectual or moral status; otherwise extinction is the consequence." *

The general practice among superficial politicians and irresponsible colored journalists in this country is to ignore and deprecate the craving for the fatherland among the Negro population. But nothing is clearer to those who know anything of race instincts and tendencies than that this craving is a permanent and irrepressible impulse. For some reason the American Government has never seen its way clear to give any practical recognition to these aspirations. In vain, apparently, does the American Colonization Society from year to year present the cries and petitions of thousands and hundreds of thousands who yearn for a home in the land of their fathers. Individual philanthropists may admit that such cries deserve respectful sympathy, but the Government takes no note of them. It must be stated, however, that the Government is ever ready to extend assistance to Liberia, and on the ground, partly, as often urged in their diplomatic correspondence, that Liberia is to be the future home of thousands of American citizens of African descent.

Has not the time now come when an earnest and united effort should be made by all sections of this great country to induce the Government to assist the thousands who are longing to betake themselves to those vast and fertile regions to which they are directed by the strongest impulses that have ever actuated the movements of humanity? While it is true that there are causes of dissatisfaction with his position in this country on the part of the Negro, still he will be carried to Africa by a higher impulse than that which brings millions to this country from Europe. Mr. Bright has said: "There are streams of emigration flowing towards America, and much of this arises from the foolishness of European peoples and European governments," and he quotes from Mr. Bancroft the statement that "the history of the colonization of America is the history of the crimes of Europe."

No natural impulses bring the European hither--artificial or external causes move him to emigrate. The Negro is drawn to Africa by the necessities of his nature.

* Christian Recorder, Jan. 4, 1883.

We do not ask that all the colored people should leave the United States and go to Africa. If such a result were possible it is not, for the present at least, desirable, certainly it is not indispensable. For the work to be accomplished much less than one-tenth of the six millions would be necessary. "In a return from exile, in the restoration of a people," says George Eliot, "the question is not whether certain rich men will choose to remain behind, but whether there will be found worthy men who will choose to lead the return. Plenty of prosperous Jews remained in Babylon when Ezra marshalled his band of forty thousand, and began a new glorious epoch in the history of his race, making the preparation for that epoch in the history of the world, which has been held glorious enough to be dated from forevermore."

There are Negroes enough in this country to join in the return—descendants of Africa enough, who are faithful to the instincts of the race, and who realize their duty to their fatherland. I rejoice to know that here where the teachings of generations have been to disparage the race, there are many who are faithful, there are men and women who will go, who have a restless sense of homelessness which will never be appeased until they stand in the great land where their forefathers lived; until they catch glimpses of the old sun, and moon and stars, which still shine in their pristine brilliancy upon that vast domain; until from the deck of the ship which bears them back home they see visions of the hills rising from the white margin of the continent, and listen to the breaking music of the waves—the exhilarating laughter of the sea as it dashes against the beach. These are the elements of the great restoration. It may come in our own life time. It may be our happiness to see those rise up who will formulate progress for Africa—embody the ideas which will reduce our social and political life to order; and we may, before we die, thank God that we have seen His salvation; that the Negro has grasped with a clear knowledge his meaning in the world's vast life—in politics—in science—in religion.

I say it is gratifying to know that there are Negroes of this country who will go to do this great work—cheerfully go and brave the hardships and perils necessary to be endured in its accomplishment. These will be among the redeemers of Africa. If they suffer they will suffer devotedly, and if they die, they will die well. And what is death for the redemption of a people? History is full of examples of men who have sacrificed themselves for the advancement of a great cause—for the good of their country. Every man who dies for Africa—if it is necessary to die—adds to Africa a new element of sal-

vation, and hastens the day of her redemption. And when God lets men suffer and gives them to pain and death, it is not the abandoned, it is not the worst or the guiltiest, but the best and the purest, whom He often chooses for His work, for they will do it best. Spectators weep and wonder; but the sufferers themselves accept the pain in the joy of doing redemptive work, and rise out of lower levels to the elevated regions of those nobler spirits—the glorious army of martyrs—who rejoice that they are counted worthy to die for men.

The nation now being reared in Africa by the returning exiles from this country will not be a reproduction of this. The restoration of the Negro to the land of his fathers, will be the restoration of a race to its original integrity, to itself; and working by itself, for itself and from itself, it will discover the methods of its own development, and they will not be the same as the Anglo-Saxon methods.

In Africa there are no physical problems to be confronted upon the solution of which human comfort and even human existence depend. In the temperate regions of the earth there are ever recurring problems, first physical or material, and then intellectual, which press for solution and cannot be deferred without peril.

It is this constant pressure which has developed the scientific intellect and the thoughtfulness of the European. Africa can afford to hand over the solution of these problems to those who, driven by the exigencies of their circumstances, must solve them or perish. And when they are solved we shall apply the results to our purposes, leaving us leisure and taste for the metaphysical and spiritual. Africa will be largely an agricultural country. The people, when assisted by proper impulse from without—and they need this help just as all other races have needed impulse from without—will live largely in contact with nature. The Northern races will take the raw materials from Africa and bring them back in such forms as shall contribute to the comfort and even elegance of life in that country; while the African, in the simplicity and purity of rural enterprises, will be able to cultivate those spiritual elements in humanity which are suppressed, silent and inactive under the pressure and exigencies of material progress. He will find out, not under pressure but in an entirely normal and natural way, what his work is to be.

I do not anticipate for Africa any large and densely crowded cities. For my own taste I cannot say that I admire these agglomerations of humanity. For me man has marred the earth's surface by his cities. "God made the country and man made the town."

It is the cities which have furnished the deadliest antagonisms to prophets and reformers. The prophets and apostles are nurtured in

the Nazareths and Bethlehems of the world. I cherish the feeling that in Africa there will never be any Jerusalem or Rome or Athens or London; but I have a strong notion that the Bethlehems and Nazareths will spring up in various parts of the continent. In the solitudes of the African forests, where the din of western civilization has never been heard, I have realized the saying of the poet that the "Groves were God's first temples." I have felt that I stood in the presence of the Almighty; and the trees and the birds and the sky and the air have whispered to me of the great work yet to be achieved on that continent. I trod lightly through those forests, for I felt there was "a spirit in the woods." And I could understand how it came to pass that the prophets of a race—the great reformers who have organized states and elevated peoples, received their inspiration on mountains, in caves, in grottoes. I could understand something of the power which wrought upon Sakya Muni under the trees of India, upon Numa Pompilius in the retreat of the Nymph Egeria, upon Mohammed in the silent cave; upon Martin Luther, Xavier and Ignatius Loyola in the cloisters. One of the sweetest of American poets—Whittier—in his poem on the Quaker Meeting, pictures the beauty and instructive power of unbroken stillness—

"And so I find it well to come
For deeper rest to this still room,
For here the habit of the soul
Feels less the outer world's control.

"And from the silence multiplied
By these still forms on either side,
The world that time and sense have known
Falls off and leaves us God alone,

"So to the calmly gathered thought
The innermost of truth is taught,
The mystery, dimly understood,
That love of God is love of good."

It is under such circumstances that the African will gather inspiration for his work. He will grow freely, naturally, unfolding his powers in a completely healthy progress.

The world needs such a development of the Negro on African soil. He will bring as his contribution the softer aspects of human nature. The harsh and stern fibre of the Caucasian races needs this milder element. The African is the feminine; and we must not suppose that this is of least importance in the ultimate development of humanity. "We are apt," says Matthew Arnold, "to account amiability weak and hardness strong," but even if it were so, there are forces, as George Sands says truly and beautifully, "there are forces of weakness, of docility, of attractiveness or of suavity, which are quite as real as the forces of vig-

or, of encroachment, of violence, of brutality."*

I see that Michelet claims for France this feminine character among the nations. Speaking of Jeanne d' Arc, he says: "It was fit that the savior of France should be a woman. France herself is a woman. She has the fickleness of the sex but also its amiable gentleness its facile and charming pity, and the excellence of its first impulses."

The beauty of woman is not in cowardly yielding or careless servility. An English poet has embodied in a few striking and beautiful lines, a description of woman's sphere and power;

" I saw her upon nearer view
A spirit, yet a woman too;
Her household motions light and free,
And steps of virgin liberty;
A countenance in which did meet
Sweet records, promises as sweet;
A perfect woman nobly planned
To warn, to comfort, to command,
And yet a spirit still, and bright
With something of an angel light."

Such will be the African's place when he rises to the proper sphere of his work. France does not occupy that place. That nation may, at times, wear woman's dress, and go about with light and sportive air but beneath those charming habiliments beats the same stern and masculine heart that we discern in other European races.

It was a proof of the great confidence felt by Mrs. Stowe in the idea of African Colonization—in the mighty results to be achieved through its means for Africa and for humanity—that she sends two of the most striking characters in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to Africa; one, the bright, the enlightened, the cultivated George Harris, goes to Liberia. And never were more forcible reasons given for the emigration of persons of color from this country to that Republic than are presented in the able and eloquent letter which she makes him write to set forth his reasons for emigrating. His arguments are pathetic and unanswerable.

George Harris's letter at least shows what a cultivated Anglo-Saxon and an abolitionist feels ought to be the views of an educated and cultivated colored American; and supplies a hint to those colored writers and speakers who amuse themselves with agitating questions of amalgamation.

Mrs. Stowe speaks of Liberia as "the refuge which the providence of God has provided in Africa." But she does not approve an indis-

*Nineteenth Century, June, 1881.

criminate emigration to Africa. In arguing against it she says wisely :

“To fill up Liberia with an ignorant, inexperienced, half-barbarized race, just escaped from the chains of slavery, would be only to prolong, for ages, the period of struggle and conflict which attend the inception of new enterprises. Let the church of the north receive these poor sufferers in the spirit of Christ ; receive them to the educating advantages of Christian republican society and schools, until they have attained to somewhat of a moral and intellectual maturity, and then assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America.”

Mrs. Stowe's idea does not seem to be that after they have risen to a certain stage of progress they should be absorbed into the great American nation. Her plan is exactly that of the American Colonization Society—to “assist them in their passage to those shores, where they may put in practice the lessons they have learned in America.” The attention of those who look to an ultimate American destiny for the American Negro should be called to these utterances of an acknowledged friend and able defender of the race. Mrs. Stowe's wonderful novel was not only the harbinger of emancipation, but the harbinger also of the vast colonization which will sooner or later take place. And that friends of the African should have seized upon her words in the one capacity and not in the other, can only be explained by the fact that as an angel of Abolition the nation was ready for her ; but to receive her as an angel of Colonization, it is only now in the process of preparation.

Soon after the close of the war it was the favorite cry of some that the Colonization Society had done its work and should be dropped. But that cry has been effectually hushed by the increasing light of experience, and under the louder cries of the thousands and tens of thousands, who in various parts of the country are asking for aid to reach the land of their fathers. Both white and colored are now recognizing the fact that the Society with its abundant knowledge, with its organized plans, is an indispensable machinery for the diffusion of that special information about Africa of which the American people are so generally destitute, and for the inoffensive creation among the Negro portion of the population of those enlightened opinions about the land of their fathers, and their duty to that land which will lead some at least of the anxious thousands to enter upon it with intelligence and efficiency.

There is evidently, at this moment, no philanthropic institution before the American public that has more just and reasonable claims

upon private and official benevolence than the American Colonization Society. And the Christian sentiment of the country, as I gather it from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, is largely in favor of giving substantial and generous aid to that struggling Christian Republic in West Africa, the power of which, it is conceded, it should be the pride of this nation, as it is its commercial interest, to increase and perpetuate.

THE NEED OF CIVILIZED GOVERNMENT IN WEST AFRICA.

Every now and then intelligence reaches us of atrocities committed in the districts in West Africa which, though accessible to foreign traders, are not subject to the control of any civilized government. The traders introduce, without limit or restraint, commodities which yield large profits but which are demoralizing to the natives; so that missionary influence in their neighborhood is largely counteracted. We copy the following account of a recent barbarous deed from the *African Times* (Feb. 1.) with comments by the Editor.

SHOCKING EXECUTION OF A CRIMINAL AT OLD CALABAR.—A correspondent at Old Calabar writes us: "There is no end of evil deeds in this country. Two months ago, a wicked slave killed his Christian master in the night-time, by stabbing him in the neck. This murder saddened the whole town, for the young man was highly esteemed by every one that knew him. The murderer was caught, brought to town, chained, his fingers were cut off and roasted, and he was compelled to eat them; one of his eyes was plucked out; he was then flayed alive, and cut in pieces. This dreadful way of putting a murderer to death was permitted and done at King Oroks' door. If not done by his command, it was by his permission."

OLD CALABAR.—We have been sometimes accused of "Jingo" propensities when we have advocated the taking the trans-Volta seaboard down to Whydah, and not less the Oil rivers, under British authority. Old Calabar is one of these so-called "Oil River" Districts; and at Duke Town, which we will suppose we must term its capital, one Oroks was lately crowned "King" by Consul Hewett. Some of our correspondents strongly condemned this measure, Oroks' character not being such as to inspire any confidence that the laws and usages of civilization were likely to be honored and followed by him. We consider the evidence to be very strong against him, but missionary matters being mixed up with the general public ones in our correspondents' letters, we did not care to insert these in our columns. And now we have the most horrible account of an execution for murder in Duke Town. The particulars will be found in another column; we cannot recapitulate here. But as such atrocities could not possibly be practised under missionary approval, we cannot refrain from noticing the low condition of missionary influence in a small town which has now been some thirty-five years under missionary occupation and teaching. This evidence of the low state of missionary influence justifies all that we have ever written in favor of bringing Old Calabar and the other Oil Rivers under British rule.

We learn that at Old Calabar, the scene of the atrocity, there are several large European establishments dealing extensively in rum and gin; and the missionaries are helpless to prevent the sale of this

poison among the people whom they would elevate. The traders hold that their business is to make money, and, when remonstrated with, reply, "If we do not sell liquor others will: the people must have it."

It is the doctrine of this Society, held from the beginning and illustrated by constant experience, that the great evils of Africa can only be met and overcome by the Christian Colony under regular Government. The editor of the *African Times* at the close of his article says: "WE HAVE THE FIRM BELIEF THAT AFRICA CAN ONLY BE CIVILIZED AND CHRISTIANIZED BY CHRISTIAN AFRICANS." The editor says this after nearly thirty years of close study of the African problem and practical dealing with it. The work of the American Colonization Society is every day seen to be of the greatest possible importance, whether we consider the urgent appeals from the thousands in this country who are longing for a field of enterprise or the imperious necessities of the land of their fathers.

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN LIBERIA.

The new departure in educational matters in Liberia has not only received the general approbation and tangible support of the friends of Liberia in this country, but great interest has been expressed in it by foreigners who have labored in that field in educational work, and know the special needs of the country.

Rev. D. A. Wilson, D. D., Milan, Missouri, and Rev. J. W. Horne, LL. D. now of Southport, Conn., lived in Liberia several years; the former representing the Presbyterian Church, as Principal of the Alexander High School; and the latter, the Methodist, as Principal of the Monrovia Academy. The fruits of the self denying and arduous labors of these gentlemen are seen in all departments of Liberian life. Dr. Blyden, President of Liberia College; Dr. H. R. W. Johnson, formerly Professor in Liberia College, and now the nominee of both political parties for the Presidency of Liberia; Hon. W. M. Davis, ex-Attorney General, are graduates of the Alexander High School. Hon. Daniel Ware, Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Benj. Anderson, ex-Secretary of the Treasury and Government surveyor, author of "A Journey to Musardu," are graduates of the Monrovia Academy.

The following are extracts from letters addressed to the President of Liberia College by Rev. Drs. Wilson and Horne.

DR. WILSON, under date, Milan, Mo., July 25, 1882, says:

"I wish to thank you for your 'Inaugural' and 'Annual Report' sent me from Cambridge, U. S. A. no doubt by your direction. I have read both with much interest, and, in

the main, agree with the views expressed. Your proposed curriculum I think excellent; though, as your College grows, a *scientific* (I use the word in its restricted sense) department should be added. An interior location, with an agricultural appendage, I recommended to the Trustees of Donations nearly thirty years ago. I was raised on a farm and known the benefits of physical labor. It is especially needed to foster personal independence, needed in high places to give it a dignity which it has not possessed in the minds of the people.

"In the list of Trustees and students, I see many new names, only a few that are familiar. Soon all the old friends and ourselves will have passed away. I sometimes think I may yet visit Liberia. My work still seems to be here. But it would be very gratifying if I could see my way clear to revisit the scene of my early labor and the friends who remain. Much rather would I go to Africa than Europe. To all friends give my kindest regards, especially my old pupils. May every divine blessing be upon you, and may you be greatly blessed in your work."

Dr. Horne, under date Southport, Conn., January 12, 1883, says:

"I have received three pamphlets from under your hand, sent me from Boston. I sympathize with your leading ideas expressed respecting the location of the College; the character of its curriculum; and the desirability of having an opportunity in connection with it, for mechanic and agricultural pursuits. It would certainly be well, as far as possible, to seek to educate the African on the foundation of his own manhood and after the type of his own race peculiarities; but it does seem to me, that if you could shut him pretty much within the circle of the first four periods of the historic development of civilization, you would also shut him *out* of much that he ought to know, in the direction of practical, modern civilization in particular. Why not take in the whole circle, down to the present time, making the periods you mention most emphatic? And as the Negro races come up to the development and furnishing for work of their own powers and faculties, they will place themselves *alongside* of their competitors in the course of advancement.

"My interest in Liberia and all its affairs is as great as ever. If I were a little younger, I would certainly accept the superintendency of our Mission work there. Mention me kindly to old friends."

RETURNED EMIGRANTS.

"The two women and seven children lately returned from Liberia," as announced by various newspapers, removed to that Republic from Concord, N. C., in November, 1881, not on account of inducements held out by persons in this country, but on the representations by letters to them direct from Mr. Harvey Bost, a former resident of Concord, who preceded them, and where he and his family are represented to be in good health and prosperous circumstances. These dissatisfied persons are described by the Rev. D. A. Day, for many years superintendent of the Liberian Mission of the Lutheran Church, and a fellow-passenger on the same vessel, "as the dirtiest and most forlorn-looking set I have ever seen. They are utterly shiftless, never even washing themselves except on compulsion by the captain. There are plenty of colored people in America, who, could they be enticed to come to Liberia, might vastly better their own condition, and confer lasting benefit on their race."

Emigration to Liberia is not unlike all other emigrations, in that success or failure largely depends upon the people themselves. Thousands of Europeans go back every year dissatisfied with America. There are those who can readily recall many who removed from New England, New York and Pennsylvania to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and who soon returned to their old homes, declaring that those now grand States were not fit for the habitation of man or beast. Very many of the early emigrants to California gladly came back to the East, saying it was the worst country in creation. And yet the great majority of Europeans who came to the United States and of our own people who "go West" remain. This country is an illustrious example of the success of emigration. So will Liberia become in the near future. Some of those who seek homes there may become disgusted and return, but enough of them will become permanent settlers and help to build up a respectable nation, and redeem a magnificent continent.

In this connection we give a neatly written letter from Mr. N. C. Armstrong, an early exodus emigrant from Texas to Kansas, and then from the latter State to Liberia. He writes March 7, 1883, with a request to publish, as follows :

"After a pleasant voyage of forty days I arrived safe at Monrovia in company with thirty fellow-emigrants, and also two native Liberians who had been visiting America. I asked the Liberians how they liked America. They said it was a very fine country, but they did not like the manner in which the colored people were treated. On the night of the 17th of December we arrived at Monrovia and were taken ashore the following morning. Being informed that the Legislature was in session, I concluded to visit a Legislature wholly composed of Negroes. Never before had I witnessed a grander display of the colored man's knowledge than that exhibited by those members. My feelings just then are better imagined than described. Early in the afternoon of the same day we were carried to Brewerville, distant fifteen miles, where we met with a cordial reception. The colored people in Liberia have advantages over those of their race in America. They all own farms of their own. One-third of the work which is required in America will secure them a very comfortable living here. The country is governed and owned exclusively by themselves. Dear race, how long do you intend serving as vassals for the white men of America?"

METHODIST MISSION IN LIBERIA.

It is said to be the intention of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church to recuscitate their Liberia work, and it is supposed that Rev. James W. Horne, LL. D., formerly Principal of the Monrovia Seminary, will be sent out as Superintendent.

JUDGE G. WASHINGTON WARREN.

We record with sorrow the decease of Judge G. Washington Warren, President of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, and a Vice President of the American Colonization Society, which took place, very suddenly, at his residence at Boston, May 13, 1883, in the seventieth year of his age. A Boston paper says :

" Mr. Warren was born in Charlestown, Mass., where he has resided during nearly his whole life, and where, at the time of his death, he held the office of judge of the district court. From his long-continued interest in the affairs of the Bunker Hill Monument Association it has by some been supposed that he was of the family of Warren of the Bunker Hill general, but such was not the fact. He was educated at Harvard College, and graduated in the class of 1830. He was at one time mayor of the city of Charlestown, and was subsequently Senator in the General Court from that district. His near residence to the Bunker Hill Monument, together with a high patriotic feeling that was a characteristic, led him to take an active part as a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

Eventually he became president of that body, and as such wrote a comprehensive and historically valuable account of its origin and career. His other literary work was limited mainly to the preparation of addresses for public occasions, one of the latest of which was the Fourth of July oration appointed to be delivered before the city authorities of Boston in 1881. For many years he was a member of the Unitarian church in Charlestown. His continuous public service has been in the judicial capacity, covering as trial justice and judge of this district court, a period of about 25 years. His administration has been discreet and equitable, with no undue lenity, yet with a leaning to moderation in sentences imposed when mitigating circumstances appeared. In a word, he was a just but not a harsh judge. He was an admirable and courteous man in all social relations, and was highly respected by the townsfolk of Charlestown as well as all others with whom he had dealings. He leaves a widow, three sons and a married daughter."

During a long period Judge Warren devoted himself to the work of African colonization with singular fidelity, wisdom and zeal, with patient attention to details, tenacity of purpose, and purity of motives, and with a noble enthusiasm which was born of his catholicity of spirit, and the grandeur of the cause which he loved and served so well.

 THE NORTH-WEST BOUNDARY QUESTION.

LETTER FROM MR. C. T. O. KING.

Monrovia, March 30, 1883.

DEAR SIR:—The die is cast! By the mail on the morning of the 28th inst. the Government received a communication from the Governor of Sierra Leone announcing that Her Majesty's Government has formally taken possession of all our territory north of the Mannah river, and they have issued a formal proclamation of the same. They also demand payment for the forty thousand dollars (\$40,000) which Governor Havelock decided last March we were indebted for the so

called Mannah river claim. And as offset to that demand, they say they would allow us the amount which appears in one of their Blue Books as having been paid for us for those territories which they have taken.

Thus by one stroke of the Lion's paw has been torn from us all that territory, including the famous Gallinas slave trading region, for the purchase of which the friends of freedom in America and in England contributed so largely.

The Governor also proposes, if we are willing, to enter into a treaty with us recognizing our right of territory from the Mannah river southward, and to form regulations as to their boundary. But this proposal creates in the minds of some of us a dilemma. Can we enter into such a treaty with them without acknowledging their right to the territory North of the Mannah river? Should we recognize their right to that territory, or should we leave the question open for future events?

Very respectfully,

C. T. O. KING.

REV. JOHN B. PINNEY, LL. D.*

BY REV. J. D. WELLS, D. D.

JOHN BROOKE PINNEY, son of Elihu and Margaret Langford Pinney, was born in Baltimore, Maryland, December 25, 1806. He passed his early childhood at his grandfather's, Lieut. Abraham Pinney, Colebrook, Conn. At the age of ten years he was sent by his father to the Windsor Academy, Conn., to be prepared for college.

At the age of about nineteen he was recalled by his father to Lexington, Georgia, where he studied awhile in a private school, and in 1826 entered the Junior Class of the University of Georgia, graduating in 1828.

While in college young Pinney became a subject of an extensive revival of religion, and was received into the communion of the Presbyterian Church. During his senior year in college he made considerable progress in the study of law under the direction of Joseph H. Lumpkin, Esq., then a leading lawyer, and afterwards Chief Justice of the State of Georgia.

In the same year, 1828, he was admitted to the Bar, under Hon William H. Crawford, then Judge of the Supreme Court of Georgia. But he soon quit the law to prepare for the ministry. This was a sore disappointment to his father, who declined supplying the funds

* A Memorial prepared at the request of the Board of Control of the New York State Colonization Society.

needed to meet the expense of his theological training, and Mr. Pinney was thrown upon his own resources. By teaching a year at Walterborough, S. C., he secured the means for a three years' course of study in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J., entering in the fall of 1829, and graduating with the class of 1832. While in the Seminary he decided to become a missionary among the great Negro nations of Bornu and Harsa, in the interior of Africa; and from that time till his death—a period of fifty years—his heart was steadfast in its devotion to the people of that great continent.

Together with Joseph W. Barr he was ordained as a missionary to Africa by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, October 12, 1832. But while the two were waiting for the departure of the vessel Mr. Barr died of Asiatic cholera at Richmond, Va., and Mr. Pinney proceeded alone. He became so completely broken down in health that he was compelled to return temporarily to this country early in 1833.

In the fall of the same year he set out with nine missionary companions, and landed at Monrovia January 1, 1834. It will be observed that Mr. Pinney went as a missionary. It never entered into his plan or thought to do anything else than the work of a Christian missionary. But just as he was leaving this country he was persuaded to become, for a time, the agent of the American Colonization Society, and this constituted him Governor of the colony of Liberia. Then the early death of several missionaries so discouraged the Board of Foreign Missions that they consented to have Mr. Pinney commissioned as Governor of Liberia, and to suspend their mission for a while.

The heavy cares and anxieties incident to such duties, together with repeated attacks of African fever, so undermined his health as to make his return to the United States necessary in the fall of 1835. And after this it was not deemed best for him to attempt permanent residence in Africa.

On the 13th of September, 1836, Mr. Pinney married Ellen Agnes, second daughter of Amos Seward, Esq., of Guilford, Conn. Six daughters and four sons were given them. Two sons and two daughters died in infancy or early childhood. Four daughters and two sons, all married, survive, and there are eighteen grandchildren.

In 1837, having somewhat recovered from the effects of his residence in Africa, Mr. Pinney engaged in the colonization work; in 1839, accompanied by Messrs. Canfield and Aylward and their wives, he founded the Presbyterian Mission at Settra Kroo, Liberia, and May 1, 1840, he became Corresponding Secretary of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and held the office six years.

From 1847 to 1848 he was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Washington, Pa. He then accepted the office of Corresponding Secretary of the New York State Colonization Society, which he held from 1848 to 1863, visiting Africa as the agent of this Society in the year 1858. And during this period he was largely instrumental in securing the bequests that constitute the permanent fund now guarded and administered by the Board of Control of the New York State Colonization Society for education in Africa.

Mr. Pinney voluntarily retired from the secretaryship, and for several years devoted himself to his family. In the year 1857 Hamilton College conferred upon Mr. Pinney the honorary degree of LL.D.

When our country had partially recovered from the effects of the war, Dr. Pinney was asked to return to his chosen work for the Negro in the line of educational interests. For a while, therefore, he delivered lectures in behalf of Lincoln University, and in pursuance of this work he made a visit to England and Scotland in the year 1875.

About the same time the affairs of Liberia College, at Monrovia, Western Africa, were in such a condition as to require the presence of some one from this country, and Dr. Pinney made his fifth visit to Africa. While there he went to the different mission stations in Liberia and along the coast as far south as the Gaboon, encouraging the missionaries and making careful observations upon their work.

Dr. Pinney's report of matters at Monrovia, with reference to the condition of the College and the great importance of removing it from the sea-coast to a farming region, with the view of its becoming—in part at least—self-supporting, was such that he was empowered to return and do what he could to secure this result. Hence his sixth and last visit to Africa in the fall of 1878. For a time he had every prospect of success. The land, with some buildings on it, was pledged; and material for other buildings was promised. The Legislature passed the bill for the removal of the College. Dr. Pinney had every reason to think he had secured the important object of his visit, and turned his face homeward that he might obtain funds necessary to complete the undertaking. But before he had left the country the President of the Republic, under some misapprehension of the matter, vetoed the bill, and thus, for a time, arrested the work, which now happily is going forward in circumstances of great promise. This was a sore disappointment to Dr. Pinney. But his labor was not in vain in the Lord. No doubt it had an important relation to the result, which now seems likely to be secured, the removal of the College from the coast and the increase of its teaching force by the addition to it of Professors T. McCants Stewart and H. M. Browne, with a female teacher for the Introductory Department, all educated persons

of African blood, from this country, under Dr. Edward W. Blyden President.

Returning to this country from his sixth and last visit to Africa, Dr. Pinney did not cease to labor for the people and the land. Familiar with all that has been written by those who have explored the "Dark Continent" for many years, and all that is doing for the evangelization of its people, by different portions of the Church in this country and abroad, he visited many parts of our land, giving lectures of great value to interested audiences. Those who have known him longest wondered at his energy and devotion in the prosecution of this work. It was a ruling passion with him to awaken an intelligent and practical interest in Africa and its people.

For the last few years of his life he made his home in Florida, where he purchased land and began improvements with the enthusiasm and enterprise of a man just beginning life. But even there he kept constantly in view the evangelization of Africa. After providing an humble home for his family, he built on his own land a school-house, which served also for a chapel. Here, through the week, he gave as much time as his strength would allow to the instruction of colored children and adults; and on the Sabbath he preached the Gospel to all that were willing to hear. And it was in his heart and plan to establish and conduct a school of the prophets, for the help of men who are even now preaching to the Freedmen, but have great need to be taught themselves, and deeply feel their need.

The death of Dr. Pinney came at last from sheer exhaustion. For a year and more he had been visibly declining in health under a disease (cystitis, inflammation of the bladder) that often gave him great pain, and slowly but surely undermined his powerful constitution.

For nearly a fortnight before his death his lower limbs were paralyzed, and pain gradually ceased. The paralysis finally reached his vocal powers, making it difficult and at length impossible for him to speak. He slept a good deal as he came near the end of his course, and on Christmas morning, at about three o'clock, he entered into rest. Over his countenance then there came and remained an expression of perfect repose and peace. To the very last, he enjoyed the faithful and loving ministry of his wife and youngest daughter.

The spot selected for his grave was beneath the oak where he had camped while building his house. The Methodist minister of Ocala officiated at his funeral, and only one other white person, beside his own family, was present. Six colored preachers, whom he had tried to serve, were selected as pall-bearers, and many others of the same race were present. Thus the good man, ever true to the work which

in early life he chose as the work of his life, was carried to his burial as he would have wished to be, not indeed in Africa itself, but by men of African blood in our own land, and in a part of our country where they are not only very numerous, but in great need of such instruction as he was freely giving them.

If now one may say a word about Dr. Pinney's home life, that word, according to testimony that cannot be called in question, shall be simply this :

An affectionate, indulgent father, he was stern in rebuking evil, and not forgetful of the divine injunction of Solomon as to the use of the rod.

He believed in rewarding the efforts of his children to do well, and especially to overcome unlovely dispositions and bad or foolish habits.

Fond of music, he made use of it morning and evening at family worship, and watched carefully the musical education of the daughter who was favored with his presence in the home at the time when she had special need of a father's oversight. To her he was not only the beloved and honored father, but also the friend, companion and teacher, giving her all the opportunities that his means would allow to hear the best music. The other children were of necessity less under his personal influence, because his official duties kept him much of the time away from his home, and these he left with quiet confidence in the keeping not only of his covenant God, but also of his faithful wife.

Those who have known Dr. Pinney, apart from his family, as a public man, will probably agree that he was pre-eminently in spirit, and as far as possible in fact, a missionary to the people of Africa. It was in his heart to live and die among them. In his purpose he never turned from the evangelistic work to which early in his Christian life he devoted himself, and for which he was set apart by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. And in reference to that, he did not shrink from personal exposure. Six times he went to Africa, and once to England and Scotland, in pursuance of the work that he loved so well. With a home that had great attractions for him as a husband and father, he was almost a stranger to it for long periods of time together.

In secular matters he did not always see as clearly or as far as in spiritual, and sometimes made mistakes to his own loss. But his life, as a whole, in relation to Christ and His cause, and especially the giving of the Gospel and the great salvation to the people of Africa, was a life of high endeavor, of great self-denial, and humble, cheerful, and heroic devotion. And now that he rests from his labors, it is plea-

sant to think of him, and Livingstone and many others, men and women, who have laid down their lives for the same cause, holding sweet converse in the presence of Christ, and assured from His word that princes shall come out of Egypt, that Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God, and that the so-called "Dark Continent," with all the ends of the earth, shall see the salvation of God, and know the brightness of Emmanuel's rising.

AFRICAN SOLDIERS AND COLONIZATION.

BY GEN. J. W. PHELPS.

The colonization of Kansas with Negroes from the South-West has not proved as advantageous as was anticipated. Many of them have returned to the place from which they emigrated. This fact ought to suggest to our African soldiers some thought with regard to their own future. While they are engaged in service upon the frontiers, the good lands of the country are being taken up; and not many of these lands are better suited for Negro occupation than those of Kansas have proved to be. What, then, is the young African to do after his term of service has been completed? Where shall he go? Where can he find lands to suit him? He ought to decide as to what his future course is to be; whether he will be a farmer, a waiter, a day laborer, or of what other calling.

It appears to me that no other country opens up a wider or higher future for our African soldiers than Africa. The only question to be considered is how these soldiers on being discharged from our service can go back to their father-land and become established there. This would be easily practicable if a proper plan could be adopted for carrying it out. The Colonization Society could insure to every soldier the possession of twenty-five acres of land. If now the Government would retain half of his pay during his five years' term of service, and deliver it to him on his arrival in Liberia, he could thus be enabled to begin a plantation of coffee or sugar at once; and put himself in the way of acquiring an early competence.

It is already to the interest of the United States to extend the area of tropical productions. In the short period of twenty-five years we shall need double the enormous amount that we consume at the present time. Governmental aid to African Colonization, whether in the interests of commerce alone, or of the general political interests of the United States, seems to me as legitimate as was the purchase of Alaska. Special recruiting regulations for the African regiments might, perhaps, be made an effective means of giving aid to this object. The plan, at all events, is worthy of careful consideration by all the friends of Liberia.

WEST AFRICAN GOLD.

The Gold Coast Company, London, have received per steamer Mandingo, another consignment of gold. It consists of a bar of pure gold weighing 70 oz., worth about £300. The acting manager writes that the yield of gold per ton of quartz is greatly increasing in value and the manager now at home has informed the Board that he will be able to consign gold in sufficient quantity to pay a dividend of 50 per cent. within six to nine months. The gold comes to the care of Messrs. James Irvine & Co., the company's agents in Liverpool.

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

During the month of March, 1883.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. (\$2.00.)		ford.....		2.00
<i>Lyme.</i> Thomas L. Gilbert.....	2.00	FOR REPOSITORY. (\$5.00.)		
MASSACHUSETTS. (\$100.00.)		Virginia \$1. Mississippi \$1. Ark-		
<i>Westborough.</i> Legacy of Jabez		ansas \$1. Tennessee \$1. In-		
G. Fisher to Mass. Col. Soc., J.		diana \$1.		5.00
A. Fayerweather, Ex., by J.		RECAPITULATION.		
C. Brame.....	100.00	Donations.....	104.00	
PENNSYLVANIA. (\$100.00.)		Legacy...	100.00	
<i>Philadelphia.</i> Penn'a Col. Soc.,		For African Repository.....	5.00	
by Rev. Dr. E. W. Syle,		Rent of Colonization Building....	155.00	
(Special).....	100.00	Interest for Schools in Liberia....	90.00	
VIRGINIA. \$2.00.)		Total Receipts in March....	\$454.00	
<i>Alexandria.</i> Mrs. M. B. Black-				

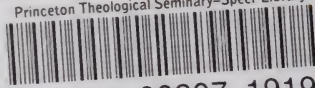
During the Month of April, 1883.

MAINE. (\$5.00.)		ARKANSAS. (\$10.00.)		
<i>Skowhegan.</i> Mrs. L. W. Weston	5.00	<i>Little Rock.</i> Andrew J. Flowers,		
NEW HAMPSHIRE. (\$5.00.)		toward cost of emigrant pas-		
<i>Mount Vernon.</i> J. A. Starrett.	5.00	sage to Liberia.....		10.00
VERMONT. (\$5.00.)		FOR REPOSITORY. (\$2.00.)		
<i>Enosburgh.</i> George Adams	5.00	South Carolina \$1. Texas \$1.....		2.00
CONNECTICUT. (\$100.00.)		RECAPITULATION.		
<i>Stamford.</i> C. J. Starr.....	100.00	Donations.....	5165.00	
NEW YORK. (\$5000.00)		For African Repository.....	2.00	
<i>New York City.</i> Residuary Leg-		Emigrant toward passage.....	10.00	
ates of F. Marquand, by Hen-		Rent of Colonization Building....	165.00	
ry G. Marquand, Esq.	5000.00	Total Receipts in April....	\$5342.00	
PENNSYLVANIA. (\$50.00.)				
<i>Philadelphia.</i> F. G. Schultz....	50.00			

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